

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
OMB-01 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 DHA-02 /086 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0307
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12708

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (NYERERE, JULIUS), US, SF, WA, TZ, GW
SUBJECT: NYERERE'S TALKS WITH GENSCHER

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2952

BEGIN SUMMARY: ON AUGUST 1, FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER LUNCHED WITH TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE, WHO WAS TRANSITING FRANKFURT AIRPORT ON HIS WAY TO CANADA AND THE U.S. NYERERE TOLD GENSCHER THAT SWAPO HAD TWO MAIN WORRIES: WHEN AND HOW SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA AND THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. HE SAID HE HAD ADVISED SWAPO NOT TO DELAY, BUT TO PREPARE ITSELF FOR ELECTIONS NOW.

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NYERERE ALSO NOTED HE WOULD ASK WASHINGTON TO AVOID INJECTING "GREAT POWER POLITICS" INTO THE HORN. END SUMMARY.

1. TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE, EN ROUTE TO CANADA AND THE U.S., HAD A THREE HOUR LAYOVER IN FRANKFURT ON AUGUST 1. FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER TOOK ANOTHER

DAY AWAY FROM HIS VACATION TO MEET HIM FOR LUNCH AND A SHORT DISCUSSION. WE WERE BRIEFED ON THE MEETING BY MUELLER, DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHO HAD BRIEFED GENSCHER AND SAT IN ON THE TALKS.

ACCORDING TO MUELLER, BOTH LEADERS WERE IN GOOD SPIRITS AND THE TALKS WERE FRIENDLY. NYERERE APPEARED WELL RESTED. MUELLER READ TO US FROM HIS NOTES ON THE FIVE TOPICS COVERED IN THE MEETING: NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, THE HORN, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

2. NAMIBIA:

NYERERE EXPLAINED THAT SWAPO HAD TWO MAIN WORRIES WHICH THE WEST WOULD HAVE TO ADDRESS IF IT WANTED PEACEFUL PROGRESS IN NAMIBIA. FIRST IS THE MATTER OF THE PROCEDURE BY WHICH SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA. WITHDRAWAL MUST BEGIN NO LATER THAN UN INVOLVEMENT BEGINS. SWAPO IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL (AG) AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE (UNSR) WOULD INTERACT. NYERERE SAID THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND WHY THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH LANGUAGE ACCORDING THE UNSR "SUPERVISION AND CONTROL" RESPONSIBILITIES. IF THESE WORDS WERE NOT EXPLICITLY USED, HOWEVER, ALL PARTIES WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETELY SATISFIED THAT THIS, IN FACT, WAS WHAT WOULD BE MEANT BY ANY LANGUAGE AGREED UPON. NYERERE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SECRETARY GENERAL

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WALDHEIM HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT CERTAIN LEGAL ASPECTS OF UN INVOLVEMENT IN A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT. WALDHEIM, LIKE SWAPO, NEEDS SOME ASSURANCE THAT AS SOON AS THE UN COMES INTO NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE ON ITS WAY OUT. SOME WEAKENING OF SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE EVIDENT FROM THE BEGINNING OF UN INVOLVEMENT TO PUT THE UNSR AND AG IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. GENSCHER SAID THAT HE HAD HOPED TO MEET WITH WALDHEIM LAST WEEK TO DISCUSS THIS AND OTHER TOPICS, BUT THAT THIS HAD BEEN PREVENTED BY CIRCUMSTANCES (AN AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT INVOLVING WALDHEIM'S DAUGHTER-IN-LAW). HE HOPED TO MEET WITH WALDHEIM WHILE HE WAS STILL IN EUROPE.

NYERERE CONSIDERS A SWAPO VICTORY AS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION. HE BELIEVED THAT SWAPO WAS NOT COMMUNIST YET, BUT THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUED TO REFUSE TO DEAL WITH IT, IT MIGHT PERHAPS BECOME SO. HE SAID HE HAD ADVISED SWAPO NOT TO DELAY IN COMING TO TERMS WITH THE WESTERN FIVE AND WITH SOUTH AFRICA. RATHER, SWAPO SHOULD ORGANIZE AND PREPARE FOR AN ELECTION IN NAMIBIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED HE HAD NO MANDATE TO SAY SO,
NYERERE STATED THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES FAVOR THE
ACTIVITIES OF THE WESTERN FIVE IN THEIR SEARCH FOR A

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT /PARA 7 LINE 6/

SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION. NYERERE BELIEVED THAT SWAPO WOULD GO ALONG WITH MANY OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S IDEAS AS LONG AS IT WAS CLEAR THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S INFLUENCE WAS WANING AS THE UN'S INFLUENCE WAS WAXING. HE CAUTIONED THAT SWAPO WAS VERY DEPENDENT ON UN SUPPORT AND NOTHING MUST BE DONE WHICH COULD BE PERCEIVED TO JEOPARDIZE THAT CONDITION.

3. ZIMBABWE:

THE DISCUSSION ON ZIMBABWE WAS BRIEF. NYERERE OBSERVED THAT ZIMBABWE WAS A MUCH MORE COMPLICATED SITUATION

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THAN WAS NAMIBIA. NAMIBIA WAS A TRADITIONAL COLONIAL PROBLEM, COMPLETE WITH FOREIGN OCCUPYING ARMY. AS SUCH IT LENT ITSELF TO A DIFFICULT, BUT CLEAR SOLUTION. ZIMBABWE, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS CHARACTERIZED BY AN INDIGENOUS WHITE POPULATION WITH ITS OWN ARMED FORCES. THERE WERE, THEREFORE, NO EASY SOLUTIONS UNLESS THE WHITES WERE WILLING TO GIVE UP POWER VOLUNTARILY. ACCORDING TO MUELLER, NYERERE AVOIDED ANY DISCUSSION OF THE PF, ZAPU, ZANU, ETC.

4. THE HORN:

NYERERE SAID THAT ETHIOPIA COULD NOT ACCEPT THE LOSS OF THE OGADEN AND ERITREA. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF CONVINCING SOMALIA NOT TO ANNEX PORTIONS OF THE OGADEN. IN REPLY TO GENSCHER'S QUESTION ABOUT THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF THE OAU IN MEDIATING THE CONFLICT, NYERERE SAID THE OAU WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO DO ANYTHING BUT SUPPORT ETHIOPIAN CLAIMS. THE OAU RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE WILL BE MEETING AGAIN ON AUGUST 5, BUT GETTING THE OAU TO DO MORE WOULD BE DIFFICULT. NYERERE TOLD GENSCHER HE WAS AFRAID THAT A MAJOR CRISIS WAS BREWING IN THE HORN. HE HAD BEEN HAPPY THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ARMING BOTH SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA BECAUSE IT ALLOWED A CERTAIN DEGREE OF LEVERAGE OVER BOTH STATES. HOWEVER, WITH THE U.S. AND BRITAIN COMMITTED TO PROVIDE ARMS TO SOMALIA, NYERERE FEARED THE AREA WOULD BECOME A "PLAYGROUND FOR GREAT POWER POLITICS."

5. THE MIDDLE EAST:

GENSCHER INTRODUCED THE TOPIC OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND SAID HE HOPED THE VANCE MISSION ENDED IN SUCCESS. NYERERE AGREED, ADDING THAT THE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL MUST EXERT

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THEIR INFLUENCE, OTHERWISE ISRAEL MIGHT WAIT TOO LONG AND LOSE ITS LAST HOPE FOR PEACE. ALL THE ARABS, NYERERE CLAIMED, RECOGNIZE THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT GO AWAY (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF "MY FRIEND QUADAFI") AND WERE BECOMING MORE REALISTIC.

6. THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE:

THERE WAS A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, HOWEVER, IT BROKE NO NEW GROUND. NYERERE SAID THE

WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS MUST DO MORE FOR THE LESS DEVELOPED WORLD. THE LDC'S WANT MORE TRADE, NOT AID.

7. COMMENT: THE GERMAN SIDE WAS IMPRESSED WITH NYERERE'S OBJECTIVITY. HE SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THE ELEMENTS NECESSARY FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA AND THE CONSTRAINTS ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS. MUELLER TOLD US THAT HE HAD TAKEN NOTE OF OUR CONCERNS THAT NYERER NOT BE BOMBARDED WITH QUESTIONS FROM THE FRG, CANADA, AND THE U.S. IN RAPID SUCCESSION AND HAD BRIEFED GENSCHER TO THIS EFFECT. FOR THAT REASON, HE SAID, GENSCHER DID NOT REALLY PRESS NYERERE.
STOESSEL

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